

574 make themselves acceptable to the head of the universal family, the great and good Mannitto. Let me be permitted to illustrate this by an example.

Some travelling Indians having in the year 1777, put their horses over night to pasture in my little meadow, at Guadenbudden on the Muskingum, I called on them in the morning to learn why they had done so. I endeavoured to make them sensible of the injury they had done me, especially as I intended to mow the meadow in a day or two. Having finished my complaint, one of them replied: "My friend, it seems you lay claim to the grass my horses have eaten, because you had enclosed it with a fence: now tell me, who caused the grass to grow?" "Can you make the grass grow? I think not, and no body can except the great Mannitto. He it is who causes it to grow both for my horses and for yours! See, friend! the grass which grows out of the earth is common to all; the game in the woods is common to all. Say, did you never eat venison and bear's meat?—"Yes, very often."—"Well, and did you ever hear me or any other Indian complain about that?" "No; then be not disturbed at my horses having eaten only once, of what you call your grass, though the grass my horses did eat, in like manner as the meat you did eat, was given to the Indians by the Great Spirit. Besides, if you will but consider, you will find that my horses did not eat *all* your grass. For friendship's sake, however, I shall never put my horses in your meadow again."

735 The Indians are not only just, they are also in many respects a generous people, and cannot see the sick and the aged suffer for want of clothing. To such they will give a blanket, a shirt, a pair of leggings, mocksens, &c. Otherwise, when they make presents, it is done with a view to receive an equivalent in return, and the receiver is given to understand what that ought to be. In making presents to strangers, they are content with some trifle

431

THE INDIAN NATIONS.

87

in token of remembrance; but when they give any thing to 431 ●
a trader, they at least expect double the value in return,
saying that he can afford to do it, since he had cheated
them so often.

They treat each other with civility, and shew much 576
affection on meeting after an absence. When they meet
in the forenoon, they will compliment one another with
saying, "a good morning to you!" and in the afternoon
"a good evening." In the act of shaking hands with
each other, they strictly attend to the distinguishing
names of relations, which they utter at the time; as for
instance, "a good morning, father, grandfather, uncle,
aunt, cousin," and so down to a small grandchild.
They are also in the habit of saluting old people no ways [888]
related to them, by the names of grandfather and grand-
mother, not in a tone of condescending superiority or
disguised contempt, but as a genuine mark of the respect
which they feel for age. The common way of saluting
where no relationship exists, is that of "friend;" when,
however, the young people meet, they make use of words
suitable to their years or stage in life; they will say "a
good morning, comrade, favourite, beloved, &c." Even
the children salute each other affectionately. "I am
glad to see you," is the common way in which the In-
dians express themselves to one another after a short
absence; but on meeting after a long absence, on the re-
turn of a messenger or a warrior from a critical or dan-
gerous expedition, they have more to say; the former is
saluted in the most cordial manner with some such ex-
pression: "I thank the Great Spirit, that he has pre-
served our lives to this time of our happily meeting
again. I am, indeed, very glad to see you." To which
the other will reply: "you speak the truth; it is through
"the favour of the great and good Spirit that we are
permitted to meet. I am equally glad to see you,"
To the latter will be said: "I am glad that the Great
Spirit has preserved your life and granted you a safe
return to your family."

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cat, Litten and little chicken. Parents make presents to their children, and they in return to their parents. A father will sometimes ask his wife or one of his children for the loan of his horse to go out a hunting. For a litter of kittens or brood of chickens, there are often as many different owners as there are individual animals. In purchasing a hen with her brood, one frequently has to deal for it with several children. Thus, while the principle of community of goods prevails in the state, the rights of property are acknowledged among the members of a family. This is attended with a very good effect; for by this means every living creature is properly taken care of. It also promotes liberality among the children, which becomes a habit with them by the time they are grown up.

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An Indian loves to see his wife well clothed, which is a proof that he is fond of her; at least, it is so considered. While his wife is bartering the skins and peltry he has taken in his hunt, he will seat himself at some distance, to observe her choice, and how she and the traders agree together. When she finds an article which she thinks will suit or please her husband, she never fails to purchase it for him; she tells him that it is *her* choice, and he is never dissatisfied.

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The more a man does for his wife, the more he is esteemed, particularly by the women, who will say: "This man surely loves his wife." Some men at their leisure hours make bowls and ladles, which, when finished, are at their wives' disposal.

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If a sick or pregnant woman longs for any article of food, be it what it may, and however difficult to be procured, the husband immediately sets out to endeavour to get it. I have known a man to go forty or fifty miles for a mess of cranberries to satisfy his wife's longing. In the year 1762, I was witness to a remarkable instance of the disposition of Indians to indulge their wives. There was a famine in the land, and a sick Indian woman ex-

THE INDIAN NATIONS.

269

we might be permitted to go home, as we wished to do, particularly as we saw a thundergust from the west fast approaching; but the Indians, suspecting our design, soon came forward with poles and blankets, and in a few minutes erected a shelter for us. 764
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[343]

The storm, though of short duration, was tremendous; the water, produced by the rain, flowing in streams; yet all had found means to secure themselves during its continuance, and being on prairie ground, we were out of all danger of trees being torn up or blown down upon us. Our encampment now appeared like a village, or rather like a military camp, such was the number of places of shelter that had been erected.

Fortunately, the husband of the deceased had reached the camp in good time, and now the gust being over, every one was served with victuals that had been cooked at some distance from the spot. After the repast was over, the articles of merchandise which had been brought by the two men in the rear, having been made up in parcels, were distributed among all present. No one from the oldest to the youngest, was excepted, and every one partook of the liberal donation. This difference only was made, that those who had rendered the greatest services received the most valuable presents, and we were much pleased to see the female mourners well rewarded, as they had, indeed, a very hard task to perform. Articles of little value, such as gartering, tape, needles, beads, and the like, were given to the smaller girls; the older ones received a pair of scissors, needles and thread, and a yard or two of riband. The boys had a knife, jews-harp, awl-blades, or something of similar value. Some of the grown persons received a new suit of clothes, consisting of a blanket, shirt, breech-cloth and leggings, of the value in the whole of about eight dollars; and the women, (I mean those who had rendered essential services) a blanket, ruffled shirts, stroud and leggings, the whole worth from ten to twelve dollars. Mr. Calhoon 768
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● 431 and myself were each presented with a silk cravat and a
768 pair of leggings. The goods distributed on this occasion, were estimated by Mr. Calhoun at two hundred dollars; the greatest part of them had, the same morning, been taken out of his store.

764 After we had thus remained, in a manner, under confinement, for more than six hours, the procession ended, and Mr. Calhoun and myself retired with the rest to our homes. At dusk a kettle of victuals was carried to the grave and placed upon it, and the same was done every evening for the space of three weeks, at the end of which it was supposed that the traveller had found her place of residence. During that time the lamentations of the women-mourners were heard on the evenings of each day, though not so loud nor so violent as before.

766 I have thus described, from minutes which I took at the time, the ceremonies which take place among the Delaware Indians on the death of a person of high rank and consideration among them. The funerals of persons of an inferior station are conducted with less pomp and with less expense. When the heirs of the deceased cannot afford to hire female mourners, the duty is performed by their own immediate relations and friends. But "mourning over the corpse," is a ceremony that cannot be dispensed with.

It is always customary, when an Indian dies, of whatever rank or condition he may be, to put a number of the articles which belonged to the deceased in the coffin or grave, that he may have them when wanted. I have seen a bottle of rum or whiskey placed at the coffin head, and the reason given for it was, that the deceased was fond of liquor while living, and he would be glad of a dram when he should feel fatigued on his journey to the world of spirits.

764 When an Indian dies at a distance from his home, great care is taken that the grave be well fortified with posts and logs laid upon it, that the wolves may be
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627 If peace could not be restored through the payment of "blood money," the interested kin, in case of murder, resolved the case by the murder of the guilty party or one of his kin.¹⁶³ From the scanty evidence available it would appear that only in the case of unresolved murders which were upsetting internal peace would society step in to halt the conflict.

576 Little is known about etiquette and the customary ways in which people behaved towards one another. Penn, however, said:

431 In liberality they excel. Nothing is too good for their friend. Give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks: light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent: the most merry creatures that live: they feast and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much. Wealth circulateth like the blood. All parts partake; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property.¹⁶⁴

Denton in the same vein said:

They are extraordinary charitable one to another, one having nothing to spare, but he freely imparts it to his friends & whatsoever they get by gaming or any other way, they share one to another leaving themselves commonly the least share.¹⁶⁵

571 This sort of behavior is, of course, to be expected in a society organized upon a kinship basis. Society was predicated, not on the competition between individuals, but upon mutual assistance and the unity of action of the kin group. Respect for, and solicitous care of, the aged has also been noted.¹⁶⁶

War

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174 Small-scale, probably infrequent raiding by a few warriors was the typical form of warfare in early historic times and undoubtedly in the pre-European period. This type of conflict was a personal, usually non-economic feuding. An apt designation for it might be primitive war, since it seems to be characteristic of many cultures at this and lower technological levels of development. A special term for it is necessary since it generally differs in its causation, purpose, and form from total, modern warfare. There is little evidence that chronic, full-scale, economically caused warfare existed aboriginally in what is now northeastern United States. Hunt shared this point of view in writing of the Iroquois, generally considered to have been the most warlike of peoples in this area! He said:

In the beginning intertribal rivalries were not keen, and intertribal war was purely private and social enterprise. But before long the European trade was to create new rivalries, and whet old ones to the point where the issue became one of survival.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶³ Van der Donck, 1909, p. 303.

¹⁶⁴ Penn, 1882, p. 243.

¹⁶⁵ Denton, 1845, p. 8. Also see Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 115-16.

¹⁶⁶ Zeisberger, 1910, p. 123; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 103.

¹⁶⁷ Hunt, 1939, p. 22.

736 given assistance. A poor widow, even though she have children, finds it possible to make a living if she is willing to work. They pay her above the worth of her services in food and clothing; if it is summer she may work on the plantations; in winter she may prepare wood for fire. They are willing to help the poor but always expect them to render some service in return. It has been known that good has been done to prisoners condemned to death, even to whites, though this had to be done secretly.

829 A few negroes are found among the Indians having been
144 either bought from the whites or secured as prisoners. These are looked upon as of their own kind and allowed full liberty. Indians and negroes intermarry and their mulatto children are as much loved as children of pure Indian blood.

431 They are fond of giving when they can expect something in return and of doing good which they have reason to hope may be returned. They easily forget the good that has been done, but if they have been cheated they never forget it. If a white has done them ever so many favors, helped them in need, or given them presents, and omits an opportunity to do the like only once, then all he may have done is forgotten. If an Indian takes a wife and dresses her generously from head to foot in new garments she will indeed be glad and proud; but she will more readily leave him than if he had given her little or nothing, for in that case she would still be in expectation of receiving something.

One may even make enemies of Indians through presents if these make them proud and one does not continue giving. Occasionally when a respectable present has been given the donor is slandered in order that he may not expect something in return from the recipient.

152 They are able to control their desires and passions, but once given free rein these are the more violent. Overcome with wrath, they at once think upon murder, and may, in the heat of passion, do something for which they will later feel remorse.

521 The women are much given to lying and gossiping. They carry evil report from house to house. As long as they are observed they appear modest and without guile. All the wrongs

Marriage arrangements were always simple, but it was definitely considered better form for the negotiations to take place between the two sets of parents rather than between the individuals concerned. In this type of negotiation, the man's mother took animal food which he had killed to the girl's mother; according to some sources, a return gift was made of corn food prepared by the girl (Harrington, 1908, p.215; Heckewelder, 1881, pp.161-72; Zeisberger, 1910, p.78). It was not unusual, however, for the agreement to take place directly between the boy and girl in which case they might or might not go through these formalities. Loskiel, who is the only author who mentions the subject of residence after marriage, says that the newly married couple often lived with friends for a short time until they built their own house (Loskiel, p.56).

The man was responsible for building the house and providing axes, hoes, canoes, dishes and household equipment although the girl might supply some things. The man was expected to support the family by hunting, trapping and fishing, and the game which he brought home was the property of his wife to use as she saw fit. She was equally responsible, however, for agricultural produce and cooking; and if she were remiss, might be reminded of her neglect by her husband's taking to the woods without telling her he planned to do so. She also carried packs in traveling, tanned skins and fetched wood (Penn, p.30; Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 155-160; G.Thomas, p.341).

There was apparently no strong pressure put upon the couple to remain together after they were married. Although later writers state that marriages were formerly more stable, they present no evidence to substantiate this. Polygyny was permitted but infrequent (Heckewelder, 1881, p.154; Harrington, 1913, p.215; Zeisberger, 1910, pp.78-9; Loskiel, p.57). After the death of a spouse, the widow or widower, but more particularly the former, was expected to remain single for a year, but it is clear that this was frequently not done (Brickell, p.49; Loskiel, p.121).

Social Life and Organization

Most of Delaware social behavior is a closed book to us as the early observers did not usually have long contacts with them in their villages. The early writers were aware, however, that the Indian expected to be fed when he visited them, and that they were always offered food when they visited him. Likewise they noted that gifts passed readily from hand to hand among the Indians although property rights were clearly understood (Lindstrom p.233; Danckaerts, pp.60 and 159; Penn, p.32).

The following games were probably played in this early period: footraces (Lindstrom, p.191); a gambling game in which flat bones,

436 sweeping, and general order of the premises receive their pay in
796 wampum beads; the pecuniary value of which amounts to hardly more than a few cents. The drummers, the singers, the dance leaders, the reciters of visions are in their turn rewarded with small donations of wampum at the conclusion of their performances. This is a purifying gift rather than a pecuniary payment, one entirely out of proportion to the worth of service rendered.

[157] The worshippers of the Big House also offer their donations toward the ceremony in strings of wampum, giving them to the Master-of-Ceremonies, saying; *cela'yu'ni ndeli' witeinge'n note'ha'n* "This here is how much I help from my heart!" The sacrosanctity of wampum is furthermore emphasized by the religious rule that wampum should always be given when something has been received, even when only a gift from a friend. In the esteem of the natives it becomes a most potent medicine. Failure to carry out the rules governing the bestowing of wampum would bring sickness upon the receiver of property through exchange or the receiver of a gift. This is especially true in connection with the Delaware practice of medicine, because medicine although destined to heal can double upon itself and become a poison when not sanctified by the conveyance of wampum.¹

436 In Delaware phraseology "wampum is our heart." In exchanges of
425 vendable property, even extending to gifts between friends, there
751 lurked a potency for evil that might develop in who knows what quarter, producing malice or resentment among the parties concerned. It could even result in bodily poison to one or both. It is strictly correct to state that in the attitude of the eastern Indians toward such affairs the transfer of shell money from the hands of the receiver of a gift or a purchase to those of the giver performed the function of medicine.

436 The wampum protected them against spiritual infection and its
755 manifestation in the body in the form of sickness. Wampum was a purifier, purging the transaction from latent evil force. And should evil have leaked through the transaction the wampum would function as a purgative for its keeper. The same wampum was a spiritual emblem believed by them to have come originally from supernatural sources and embodying within it profound supernatural dynamics.

436 We can understand why a compact sealed with the transfer of
439 wampum was as sacred as one sworn to under oath by Europeans. It was such an attitude toward exchange and currency that our colonial forebears encountered when they bartered for land and peltry with the aborigines of New England and the Middle Atlantic States. The colonists handed out their exchange with the European notion of in-

¹ I am of course speaking of Delaware therapeutics exclusively, although something along the same line may be said, by those who are inclined toward a critical attitude, of civilized medical practices.

DELAWARE INDIAN BIG HOUSE CEREMONY

89

tion it lies extended. And the doors are opposite each other. Right here in the direction of the sun-set, it is the rule that the Bringer-in come, bringing the ceremony into the House. 539^x
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Everything was provided for the Delawares in the Gamwing. There was also wampum supplied by rule, it is said. Each person gives one shoulder-length for helping to prepare this food and also for when they pay the Attendants. And, so it is said, the Attendant is pleasing to him our father the Great Spirit, even the Creator. 539^x
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When the workers¹ purify everything,² these women with the Attendants, it can not be conceived how sacredly valuable those labors are. It has been destined for the Delaware that that very wampum he uses becomes his heart. And moreover when purchasing food, or when anything of value is bought, he employs wampum. And then a quantity is gathered. Here at the left side of the House where the Bringer-in sits, at a certain height above the ground, there a white cloth is hung along the wall. There is suspended all the wampum, as much as has been gathered together each day over again.³ [783]

¹ The word means "to labor" in the sense of doing something for oneself. Corresponding to the term *alo'ke* (Penobscot, Wabanaki) meaning "work," the Delaware denotes working for someone else by *naloka'tke* "I am hired by someone to work."

² The clean, pure character of the Attendants or "workers" diffuses spiritual purity over all those attending the ceremony inside the Big House and strengthens them for the ensuing year.

³ The supply of wampum is renewed each day by those who through spiritual impulses contribute their treasure. They are blessed in proportion. It should be noted that no one is allowed to sell anything at the festival except the Attendants. Outside on the grounds at a distance from the Big House refreshments can be sold for money. But inside the Big House wampum must be used for exchange. In the present ceremonial transactions between the Attendants and the worshippers two or three beads pass for five cents. Some thirty or more years ago, however, when wampum was more plentiful it passed at one bead for a cent. 431

And it was said, long ago in the beginning at the Gamwing, inside the Big House, they built a great sweat-house. They heated rock and put it inside that sweat-house. There the shamans⁴ crawled in. And water was used here for pouring upon the rocks. That was called testing with heat. Everyone going in there and staying for any length of time was said to be a great man. Some person would be exhausted in a little while for which reason they took him out. Those enduring it for a considerable length of time, those are the great men.⁵ 539^x
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⁴ There were two classes of shamans. Some had healing power and are called *nenpi'kwee* "sweating doctor." The men who recite their visions in the Big House are also *mete-lau* in the Delaware classification, their description being *kaci-lau wehendjikan'yo* "great men who perform in a single file [like the vertebral articulation of men and animals]." See page 54.

⁵ Amounting to a title denoting "prophet, reciter of vision, healer, priest all in one."

DELAWARE INDIAN BIG HOUSE CEREMONY

151

these spirit-forces are beginning to touch those who carry on this our ^{539^x}
prayer-ceremony.¹ 796

Now the Attendants sweep the Big House clean. Now the leading Attendants make fire and burn cedar.²

"I am thankful, Oh thou Great Spirit, that we have been spared to live until now to purify with cedar smoke this our House, because that has always been the rule in the ancient world since the beginning of creation. When anyone thinks of his children how fortunate it is to see them enjoying good health. And this is the cause of a feeling of happiness when we consider how greatly we are blessed by the benevolence of our father, the Great Spirit. And we can also feel the great strength of him our grandfather Fire for which we cause him pleasure when we purify and take care with it, and when we feed him this cedar. All of this together we offer in esteem to him, our grandfather, because he has compassion when he sees how pitifully we behave while we are pleading with all the spirit-forces above as they were created and with all those here on earth. Give us everything, our father, that we ask of you Great Spirit even the Creator."³ [753]

Now the leading Attendant shall carry around a wooden bowl of wampum beads. To every person he shall give equally three wampum beads.⁴ But the Following Attendant, a woman Attendant, shall carry a bark bowl containing paint and bloodroot so that everyone shall be anointed with paint.⁵ [337] [337]

¹ At the conclusion of these rites on the ninth evening the recitation of visions and the dancing around the White Path is resumed by the reciters as on the preceding nights. When the last reciter has completed his round the ceremony proceeds as announced in the ensuing paragraph with the burning of cedar.

² At this juncture the Leader goes to the fire at the east of the center post while the cedar is burning and then to the west fire, and delivers the following prayer in a low tone.

³ With the ending of his prayer the Leader has timed his movements so that his time was divided before each of the two fires of the Big House while the cedar incense had been burning.

⁴ Those receiving the beads can keep them if desired. But it was customary for them to return the wampum to the common fund by putting them in a little bowl standing on one of the hominy mortars outside after the meeting is over for that night. It was only by redonation of this nature that the supply of wampum necessary for conducting the ceremony could be assured. [337]

⁵ Some notes on the use of blood-root (*Sanguinaria canadensis*) as a red stain, or an anointment administered to the faces of all the worshippers, have been included in the introduction. A point, however, arises in the matter of ceremonial usage here as recorded in Harrington's study (I, pp. 105-6). He mentions that a bowl of grease is carried around from which the attendants anoint the skin of those to be painted. It might be inferred that some religious significance is attached to the use of grease in this act. And especially so in view of the similar function of grease among the far northern Algonkian who use grease rubbed on the face as "feeding the soul-spirit." Questioning the informant on this interesting point, however, only brings out the simple statement that the grease is put on to protect the skin from the effects of the paint, or *pe'-kon*, which tends to be irritating. The grease is also put on the carved faces in this case to make the paint, put on after, sink in better. One might imagine, nevertheless, that at some former time the putting on of the grease was more of a rite than it is now. [337]